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A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION TO ESTABLISH A REGIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTAL STUDIES OF DISADVANTAGED PRESCHOOL CHILDREN. FINAL REPORT.

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THIS REPORT DESCRIBES SEVERAL STEPS UNDERTAKEN BY A RESEARCH GROUP FROM SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE PRELIMINARY TO THE PROPOSED CREATION OF A RESEARCH CENTER FOR STUDIES OF DISADVANTAGED PRESCHOOL CHILDREN. THE PLANS ANTICIPATE FORMATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE SERVICE, RESEARCH, AND TRAINING CENTER FOR DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILIES. THE COMMUNITY SELECTED FOR PLACEMENT OF THE CENTER WAS HAYES VALLEY IN SAN FRANCISCO. IT HAS A LONG HISTORY OF POVERTY, IS OVERCROWDED, AND HAS VERY POOR FACILITIES FOR THE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS YOUTH. THE RESEARCH GROUP CONTACTED SEVERAL COMMUNITY GROUPS ALREADY ORGANIZED IN HAYES VALLEY TO DISCUSS THE CENTER AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THEM. A SPECIFIC SITE FOR THE CENTER WAS LOCATED. THE SPECIFIC SERVICES THE CENTER IS TO PROVIDE INCLUDE PROGRAMS FOR THE PRESCHOOL CHILDREN IN THE FORM OF NURSERY SCHOOL AND OTHER DAY AND NIGHT CARE FACILITIES, PROGRAMS FOR THE OLDER YOUTH, A PROGRAMS BENEFICIAL TO THE PARENTS OR FAMILY AS A WHOLE. A SECONDARY PURPOSE OF THE CENTER IS TO BE A TRAINING FACILITY, NONPROFESSIONAL IN SCOPE FOR LOCAL CITIZENS INTERESTED IN SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL WORK AND PROFESSIONAL IN SCOPE FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS. THE MANIFEST BREADTH OF THE CENTER'S CONTRIBUTION TO THIS DISADVANTAGED COMMUNITY REFLECTS THE GROWING NEED TO MEET NOT ONLY THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF DISADVANTAGED CITIZENS BUT THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL NEEDS ALSO. INCREASED RESEARCH INTO WHO THE DEPRIVED ARE AND WHAT SUCH DEPRIVATION DOES TO THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEPRIVED CHILD IS NEEDED. (WD)

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FINAL REPORT

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A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION TO ESTABLISH A REGIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTAL STUDIES OF DISADVANTAGED PRESCHOOL CHILDREN

PS000334

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I

INTRODUCTION

This report covers a ten and one-half month period, March 1st, 1966 to January 15th, 1967. During this period, steps essential to the establishment of a center for studies of Disadvantaged preschool children were undertaken, thus during this period the most appropriate locale for a center was identified; contact with the residents of the community was established; a program appropriate to the needs of the community was developed, and the literature relevant to the establishment of a center for educational and developmental studies of disadvantaged preschool children was examined.

Ideally, each of these efforts should have proceeded in an orderly and systematic fashion and contributed to the actual establishment of a center such as that envisioned when the proposal was originally submitted. Though the present proposal was instrumental for the development of a program that had emerged from research pertaining to the needs of the community conducted at the local level, administrative considerations required that the effort be geared to the then developing network of National Laboratory in Early Childhood Education. The result of the effort to mesh the activities undertaken in connection with this proposal with those of the National Laboratory program deflected the efforts and energies of the limited personnel available, but did result in the preparation of a proposal entitled, "A Research Center for Developmental Studies of Preschool Children", which was submitted to the Office of Education in July of 1966. A site visit was conducted in August of 1966. The substantive program and research plans developed up to that time were recorded in the proposal, and will not be repeated here.

Obviously, the detail which would have normally been available had the present developmental grant run its full course prior to the preparation of the proposal could not have been achieved. This final report will simply describe contacts with the community, some aspects of the site selection, and program content that have emerged in the several months following the preparation of the proposal indicated above.

Although this report technically covers only a ten and one-half month period the plans for a comprehensive service research and training center for young children and their families has a considerable history. Beginning in the fall of 1963 through to the present, studies of low income Negro populations have been carried out by the principal investigator in both San Francisco and New York City. In the San Francisco area in which the program will be attempted several hundred interviews with young mothers pointed up their perceived needs and their wishes. Three salient observations emerged from these interviews and support the concept of a comprehensive program contained in a single center having service, training and research aspects:

1. Mothers of preschool children desired a physical facility which would afford good care for their children; a facility convenient to them, and which would run through a wider range of daytime and early evening hours than is normally available; a facility which would be open weekends, and a facility which would contribute to the child's educational and social development as well as to his physical well-being.
2. Mothers of young children viewed education as the basic avenue for a better life for their children than they had had, but they

doubted that the schools as presently constituted would provide such opportunity for their children.

3. Mothers of young children did not have knowledge of social and educational services available to them; they reported services that were uncoordinated and often offered in a spirit which was degrading and demeaning.

From the contacts with the residents of the ghetto we questioned whether existing child development research was pointed sufficiently directly to questions pertaining to the nature of the environment and to the interracial effects of the environment upon the developing child. Impressions derived from interviews and observations of the environments affected by poverty, suggested to us that many of the current assumptions pertaining to cultural deprivation and sensory discrimination difficulties required further investigation. A primary impression which was derived from our studies pertained to the need to identify the nature of the environmental conditions prevelant within which the child is raised and the nature of the transactions between the complex environment and the child. We believe such questions require a methodological format appropriate to an environmental description as it impinges upon the individuals who are part of it.

Our earlier work pointed up the need to bring into closer syntactical relationship, findings from the laboratory and their applications in child development and educational practices. It was our initial belief that this perhaps could best be done by setting up laboratories within centers that would have a heavy commitment to the provision of services but in which the services themselves would be viewed as complex sets of independent variables.

By affording the opportunity for laboratory investigations utilizing the clientele of the Center, we thought it would be possible to involve scientific investigators in problems that they ordinarily would not contront since normally, they have little opportunity to encounter basic questions that emanate from the special conditions of an environment in which poverty plays a dominant role.

It also seemed apparent to us on the basis of our previous contact with the field and with the ghetto community that not only was there a gap between the research pertaining to child development and its actual application in both learning situations and in agency services to families, but that the conditions of training of individuals in the educational, social and health professions is not always such that it affords an understanding of poor people. Finally, it was our overall impression that services could be studied within the context of a defined community as complex sets of independent variables with the social community and familial structures as intermediary variables and the final dependent variables such as infant mortality rates describe the child's development in its physical, social, psychological and educational manifestations.

II

COMMUNITY AND SITE SELECTION

A. The Community

The area selected for the proposed preschool center is Hayes Valley, a neighborhood which is often "annexed" either to the Haight district to the West or the Western Addition to the North. So, for example, for purposes of the

San Francisco Community Renewal Program reports, Hayes Valley is included in the Haight district; in the administration of the Federal Poverty Program and funds, Hayes Valley is one of the five subdivisions of the Western Addition target area. Yet as a neighborhood, Hayes Valley is quite distinct, having developed an organization and identity of its own. It is more homogeneous than the Haight district of which it is so often considered a part. The economic problems of the Haight area are diluted by inclusion of the hilly sections on its periphery, almost exclusively inhabited by white middle and high income families. The social complexities of the larger district are exacerbated by its economic and racial heterogeneity and, recently, the influx of the "hippies" on and around Haight Street proper, the main artery of the district. The Western Addition is an area whose history of poverty goes back to the turn of the century. Traditionally the receiving place of new immigrants, it has been a half-way house for all but its Negro citizens for whom it has remained a trap ghetto. With urban renewal in one part of the Western Addition, the neighborhood's problems have become severely aggravated as the vast majority of the uprooted have "relocated" in areas just adjacent to those from which they have been displaced: the more than ever crowded sections of what remains of the Western Addition. As an appendage either to the Haight or the Western Addition area, Hayes Valley has borne the advantages and disadvantages of a forgotten neighborhood.

Hayes Valley, as its name suggests, lies entirely in the flats, and conforms to the traditional San Francisco ecology: it is one of the hollows that belongs to the poor. Less than ten years ago, it was a neighborhood in which many elderly, single white people lived. Over the last decade, it has been absorbing large numbers of the young non-white families displaced by urban renewal and the

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construction of a freeway extension in adjacent sections. A recently built low cost public housing project in Hayes Valley, has accelerated the change in the racial and age composition of the neighborhood.

Facilities are grossly inadequate for the new youthful population. New community organizations and groups have been formed out of concern for the youth and in an attempt to provide more adequately for the needs of children and young people. John Muir, the receiving elementary school for the area, is overcrowded and antiquated. Preschool child care facilities nowhere begin to meet the needs of a neighborhood which has large numbers of working mothers and mother-headed, AFDC families. The totally insufficient recreational provisions for older children and adolescents have been a focal issue for several of the very active community groups. Thus Hayes Valley is not only distinctive in the problems it faces and facilities it lacks, but also in the degree of commitment and cohesion of many of its people in their demands for and responsiveness to all services, particularly those that will enhance the environment of their children. The concern in the neighborhood is not only with the many existing problems but anticipatory. It is assumed that pressures will mount with the resumption of redevelopment despite promises by a chastened Redevelopment Agency to proceed gradually and "humanely". The construction of a new freeway was averted a year ago through massive community actions and pressures. This is generally viewed as a temporary reprieve.

Our first contact in Hayes Valley was an American Friends Service Committee staff member who is working in the neighborhood in a flexible consultant role to the various community groups. To what extent some of these groups have been activated or reactivated through her efforts we do not know. In any event, she

is in Hayes Valley for some days each week, regularly attends the various community meetings and is available as a resource to the organizations to the extent that these wish. She, in turn, introduced us to four of the community groups and, beginning in late May-early June 1966, one or more members of the center planning staff have been attending meetings in Hayes Valley and participating in the activities of the organizations. The four groups with whom contact has been maintained on a continuing basis are:

1. The Page Laguna Neighbors' Association (PLN), an interracial organization in existence since April 1965, is concerned with neighborhood improvements and the extention of public and private services to the area. Attendance at semi-monthly meetings ranges from a dozen to as many as fifty people. Some of these are long-time residents of the area; others commuters to it who, because of organizational or agency connections, have an interest in the activities of the Association. One of the group's most active committees is the one concerned with housing code enforcement. It has been instrumental in the demolition of one vastly substandard building and is now working to consign an adjoining one to a similar fate. In cooperation with local urban development and redevelopment groups the Association hopes to bring a new playground to the site of the substandard buildings. Through fund-raising activities, the PLN has provided one-week camperships in the Municipal Day Camp for neighborhood children. Independently, it has organized limited recreational programs for preschoolers and early elementary school children during the summer months. The Association is now in the process of incorporating and hopes to become sponsor of an apprenticeship training program, to begin modestly in a single trade and to eventually expand. Beginning last July, Association notices came as joint announcements

from the PLN and the district anti-poverty program. The chairman of PLN was elected to the Western Addition Poverty Board. Despite this affiliation, the Association has maintained its autonomy and its membership has been somewhat critical of the activities of the Poverty Board, mainly its overemphasis on organization at the expense of service to the community. The Association itself has a powerful service orientation and has eagerly been seeking out all avenues and approaches to extending private and public services to the community.

2. The Midtown Improvement Association is a smaller organization than the PLN and its membership describes itself as less of "a pressure group" than the PLN. Attendance at monthly meetings hovers around a dozen at best. With the exception of one white businessman who is a Hayes Valley landlord and property owner (but resident in the suburbs), all members are Negro. There is one woman who is consistently active. Most others are local business and churchmen who are very much concerned with deterioration in the neighborhood. The Midtown Improvement Association was started over two years ago and claims to be the oldest of the community group. It has recently reset its boundaries of responsibility to a rather confined area within Hayes Valley so as not to encroach on territory that has been the site of PLN activities. Relations between the groups are cordial and they have occasionally acted jointly on matters that concern the community at large, as, for example,during municipal elections. Among its accomplishments, the Midtown Improvement Association cites the newly installed street lights on the main street of the district; STOP signs at a particularly dangerous intersection; more effective police patrolling by doubling the schedule of cruising motor cars; more adequate litter disposal and garbage collection.

3. The G.R.O.U.P. (Grass Roots Outreach to the Urban Poor) is not a

membership organization. It involves nearly full-time the volunteer services of two women and to a much lesser extent a few more. They are residents of Hayes Valley and describe themselves as "the poor" trying to initiate a program of assistance to families poorer than themselves whom they call the "poor-poor". The organization has been in existence over a year. Last spring, with the help of a small grant from the American Friends Service Committee, the Group opened a store-front. It is in active contact with nearly one-hundred families, living in conditions of extreme poverty and stress. The Group makes available emergency aid of food, clothing, and small amounts of cash. Whenever possible and appropriate, the Group tries to establish contact between families and existing welfare agencies, both private and public. Group members try to act as a "bridge" between agencies and poverty families. The Group has recently prepared a proposal for more extensive funding which would enable its two full-time volunteers to become salaried staff; provide some additional manpower through the hiring of part-time aides; make it possible to contact other needy families and serve more effectively those that are now being assisted. Ultimately, the hope is to establish a "settlement house" and to develop autonomous services within that. The proposal was submitted to the Western Addition Poverty Board but has so far received no support from those quarters. Other sources of funding are now being explored.

4. The Hayes Valley School Committee was formed in September 1965 by concerned parents whose children attended John Muir, the receiving elementary school for the neighborhood. The Committee was formed to cope with the many school-based problems. At the time it was formed, the John Muir PTA, which met daytime hours, had proved to be not only an ineffective organization but also

inaccessible to the working parents and single parents of large families with small children. Several John Muir parents began to meet informally and out of these informal discussions evolved the Committee which, over the past year and a half, has been a remarkably effective group both within the school and with the traditionally inaccessible central administration. The school committee had brought about personnel changes at John Muir, improvements in the physical facilities, a decrease in the number of suspensions (the preferred disciplinary device at John Muir). Delegations have visited classrooms not only at John Muir but also in other schools in and out of the district and carefully documented the inadequacies of space, personnel and services at John Muir. The continuance of the preschool child care center within the neighborhood is chiefly the result of the School Committee's efforts.

There is little, if any, overlap in membership among these four organizations. Each has pursued autonomous programs and activities although they have, occasionally, acted together. The campaign to maintain the child care center, for example, initiated by the School Committee, had support from all other groups and the community at large. The demand for more effective police patrols, garbage collection and traffic safety measures, of greatest concern to the Midtown Improvement Association, elicited cooperation from Page Laguna Neighbors' Association. The Midtown Improvement Association uses Group headquarters as a meeting place and pays a small monthly rental fee. The Page Laguna Neighbors and the Group have had at least one joint meeting to acquaint each other with their activities and concerns.

The San Francisco State College proposal for a preschool center was presented and discussed separately at meetings of the four groups. At the suggestion of

the membership of the School Committee, a joint meeting of representatives from the four organizations and the center staff and consultants was called. At that time, preliminary discussions were held for eventually and formally constituting a community advisory board which would be representative of these groups and such others as might have a commitment and interest in the facility.

Although our contacts have been limited to these four groups, others have been active. The churches have been a potent force in the community. They are well represented in the organizations but are autonomously active also on social and political issues. The Economic Opportunity Council is a relative newcomer to Hayes Valley. Of the five poverty districts within the Western Addition target area, Hayes Valley was the last to be activated and staffed. The poverty program has been the focus of considerable criticism, controversy and suspicion. In Hayes Valley, at least, it is not seen as contributing visibly to the solutions of the community's most urgent problems: jobs and job training: adequate housing and schooling; child care for preschoolers and recreation for school-age children and adolescents; more adequate welfare and health services to families.

B. Site Selection

Four general criteria were used to evaluate potential center sites for the preschool center: 1. The site should be located no more than twenty minutes walk from any point within the Hayes Valley area; 2. the site should have an existing structure that could be readily modified to conform to code; 3. structure and site should be expandable to accomodate the full program as visualized; and 4. the land and structure should be within reasonable budgetary limitations.

Hayes Valley is a high density area of aging Victorian frame houses, mostly

not conforming to acceptable safety standards. No large parcels of land are available. With one exception, to be detailed later, such smaller and usable parcels as are available have been assembled by investors for sale as apartment house sites with appropriately high prices.

Both California state and San Francisco city property departments were contacted to determine availability of city or state owned property. Neither had any parcels available.

Discussions with knowledgeable realtors in the neighborhood disclosed that several groups of structures are owned by corporations or syndicated investors who might be receptive to selling if condemnation of their property could be arranged at a price below the current market value. Although the properties have been depreciated and a normal sale would create an immediate tax liability, condemnation provides a tax-free time period to reinvest, presumably in non-depreciated property with a very substantial tax benefit. Such procedure would be time-consuming without an assured outcome.

Intensive investigation through channels other than realtors resulted in locating several structures, including a large meeting hall, a church and an about-to-be-condemned apartment building. None of these met all of the stated general criteria.

A single, immediately available site was located that would meet all of the criteria. It is centrally located and consists of two Victorian structures which could readily be converted to center use. The structures have recently been brought up to code and could easily be modified to conform to temporary day care facilities for young children. The structures are located at one end of 14,740 square foot parcel of land and could be utilized while permanent con-

struction is under way. The property is owned by a religious order, located in a new building on adjacent land. Although the parcel is zoned for multiple-story, multiple-family dwellings, the order would prefer to sell it for utilization such as the center concept proposes. The land and buildings can be acquired for $175,000. A lease with an option to purchase contract would be acceptable. The lease price would be 8% per year on the purchase price.

III

NATURE OF THE PROGRAM

1. Service

During the period of planning, interviews were conducted with Hayes Valley families and extended the knowledge of the neighborhood gained through the sustained contacts with the community organizations. The service aspects of the Center, outlined below, thus reflect the most urgent needs of Hayes Valley residents.

For the preschool population the completed Center would provide the physical facilities necessary to maintain a nursery school and extended day care program, available seven days a week. In addition, the Center would provide an overnight facility for a small number of children. While the two-to-five-year-olds of the daytime program would be a relatively stable group, the children cared for overnight would be a more transient population. Other than the Juvenile Authority, there is no overnight care available anywhere in San Francisco in case of emergency and need. The Center would offer such care to neighborhood families. This was perceived as an important service, especially among families where a single adult is entirely responsible for the household.

Families were as concerned for their older youngsters as for their pre-schoolers. After school study facilities and tutorial aid would be offered to neighborhood school-aged children. A library might be established in conjunction with these educational facilities. Activity clubs would provide children with opportunities for after-school, weekend and vacation recreation. Additionally, such a program would involve neighborhood teenagers as club leaders and thus provide constructive experience for an age group that has found few opportunities for meaningful involvement in Hayes Valley.

Center services should be available to the families of the children and seek to strengthen the environment of the child. If the Center were to be established, a team of professionals and non-professionals would work together to secure community-wide participation; to teach knowledge and skills in health, home management and child care; to encourage the development of neighborhood leadership; to offer immediate help in time of stress. An intake, information and referral service, staffed by non-professionals under the supervision of trained social workers, would work closely with local schools, store fronts and agencies serving the neighborhood to exchange information and encourage referrals. Where no adequate resources are available to meet certain needs, the Center staff could be instrumental in establishing these. Community families are bewildered about the services and agencies available to them and an important Center function would be systematic follow-up to assure that problems are being resolved and needs are being met. Social service aids should be available around the clock and on weekends to handle emergencies.

Health services are perceived as inefficient and inadequate. If the Center were established, a comprehensive health program for children and their families

might eventually be provided--either autonomously or in cooperation with one of the existing hospital or clinic facilities. As a preliminary, interim measure, a public health nurse could train, supervise and involve neighborhood people as health aides to assist in a program of education and service. Families who need health services should be identified through systematic surveys of the neighborhood. Health aides could supplement existing services through home care during periods of illness.

A homemaker service would involve neighborhood women to assist families in home management, budgeting, shopping, sewing and baby-sitting. Such services are now available through one of the community groups but because of lack of personnel are limited and reaching only the families in severest stress.

The community advisory board, at its preliminary meeting, was particularly concerned with the service aspects of the program. However, it was insistent that the service program should not be established a priori, but developed in consultation and in response to the needs of the families that would ultimately be involved in the Center.

2. Training

As a training facility, the Center, if established, would supplement rather than duplicate existing programs in the Northern California region. To both professional and non-professional trainees, the Center would provide an opportunity for sustained, supervised experience in a setting that focuses on children from low-income families. Located in the heart of an urban district, with its all-day program for preschoolers and accessory services to the children's families and the neighborhood at large, the Center would be available to all interested training institutions in the area.

A. Professional Training

One aspect of planning activities was a preliminary survey of academic programs in preschool education. Contact was made with sixteen institutions in the region with programs in preschool teacher training and early childhood education. (The complete inventory of regional training facilities has been presented in the Office of Education proposal "A Research Center for Developmental Studies of Preschool Children, July, 1966". Only the summary statements are cited here).

The content and scope of the academic curricula, the size of staff and number of students, the adequacy of laboratory facilities and opportunities for practice experience among the institutions surveyed are extremely varied. In response to the current demand for trained personnel, eleven institutions have plans for expansion of their preschool education programs. These expansion plans are in varying stages of realization, ranging from simple hopes for additional staff and facilities, to ongoing construction of new on-campus nurseries, increased enrollments and definite staff additions.

In the four year colleges and universities where early childhood education programs exist, they are preparatory for professional work in the broad field of nursery education or child development. Sometimes, a five year program qualifies the student for work with a more inclusive age range by providing a core program with special emphasis on preschool work and, in addition, an elementary credential.

The sponsorship of the program is variously allocated in the institutions surveyed. When combined with a teaching credential, the early childhood educational program is most likely the responsibility of a department of school

of education.

With one exception, the four year colleges and universities have on-campus nursery schools which serve as laboratory facilities for their trainees, work in the on-campus school is often supplemented with a placement in a community preschool center.

Five of the junior colleges contacted offer an Associate in Arts (A.A.) degree in early childhood education which qualified their graduates for the post of nursery school assistant. Three junior colleges which have no such unified sequence are planning one for the immediate future. In some of the institutions, the entire burden of the core curriculum is carried by the sponsoring department, most often Home Economics; in others, a very small number of units taught in the sponsoring department is integrated into a prescribed curriculum made up largely of requirements taught in such related disciplines as psychology, anthropology, education, etc. There is much variability in field work opportunities, with some schools having on-campus nurseries and others relying on community facilities for their placements. The curricula attempt to parallel the requirements at four year institutions and are, therefore, acceptable for transfer credit.

Because enrollment figures for some of the institutions surveyed are approximate, and for a few unavailable, and because not all institutions have been surveyed, only a most tentative estimate can be made of the number of students in preschool teacher training and early childhood education programs in the Northern California area. Yet even on the basis of incomplete figures, it is apparent that the number is considerable, with upwards of five hundred students in the sixteen collegiate institutions. By far the largest segment of

these are the two year Associate in Arts candidates in the junior colleges, receiving training as nursery school assistants. The number of those pursuing advanced professional training is more difficult to estimate, although most definitely smaller. The curriculum at the four year colleges and graduate schools is less specialized and focused than at the two year institutions, and thus prepares candidates for a greater variety of career outlets within the broad field of child development. In several colleges, a preschool specialization is combined with training for an elementary credential. On the basis of enrollment figures along, it is impossible to estimate which of the two career alternatives the trainee will ultimately choose.

Quantitative estimates of numbers of trainees could be further expanded by the inclusion of intensive, short-term programs and in-service classes conducted by the colleges either in their regular or extension and evening sessions. Programs under other than academic auspices are being instituted in response to the demand for trained personnel.

The facilities the Center could make available at the professional training level are precisely those that are now largely lacking and for which many of the institutions contacted expressed an urgent need. The parent cooperative, the campus based nursery or the university child study center are the most prevalent opportunities for laboratory work or field experience available to trainees. The very nature of these preschool centers largely limits their population to a select economic group and restricts the student's experience. Contacts with poor and disadvantaged children are either entirely unavailable or often limited to a very brief placement in a community group.

The expansion plans of many institutions are specifically geared toward the problems of disadvantaged children: field placements are sought in community Head Start Groups or attempts are being made to have such groups meet in on-campus facilities; academic core curricula are being broadened with courses in "culture and the family"; students are steered toward electives in urban sociology or cultural anthropology. The Center, if established, could well supplement existing and expanding programs with the kind of specialized experience which is now rarely available but for which the need is great.

B. Non-Professional Training

The non-professional trainee would be recruited initially from the immediate neighborhood of the Center and preference should be given to members of families of children in the day care center. Their training would provide them with opportunities for paid, on-the-job experience and prepare them for future employment both with the Center and elsewhere. Many essential functions of the Center could eventually be staffed with these trainees. The training program should be designed to emphasize the practical and specific aspects of the job, and utilize a maximum of direct and action-oriented training procedures. Job training programs should be developed on a basis of participative teaching, utilizing group discussions, role playing, direct observation procedures and audio-visual aids. Supervised work at the Center using real equipment, performing actual tasks, and involving live and concerned people, would be a regular part of training. Trainees and staff should observe each other and should have ample opportunity to exchange views, work through emotional complications and try new skills and approaches.

If a non-professional training sequence were established, all trainees

would undergo an orientation period varying from two weeks to a month, depending upon the degree of sophistication required, previous experience, and the amount of time the trainee can devote to the program each week. Upon completion of the orientation period, each trainee would be assigned to one of the available programs. However, all trainees should be given some background, through observation and/or experience, in the child development aspects of the program. All should be given some experience in nutrition, first aid, recreation, social and clerical work. Throughout the training period involvement in the social and cultural activities of the Center would be encouraged.

During the training period, some time should be apportioned to analyses and discussions centering on questions of employment, automation and its implications, fair employment practices legislation and realistic assessment of the job picture in the Bay Area. Urban League Job Development staff, State Employment staff, State F.E.P.C. staff and members should be invited in for discussions centering on rights, requirements and opportunities in employment. Trips to appropriate institutions, agencies and businesses would be made with the objective of broadening vocational and professional horizons. Public school personnel, both at the neighborhood "feeder school" level of the elementary school as well as junior high, senior high and administrative levels, would be invited to the Center for discussions of problems which are mutually important to the schools and the Center.

When possible and appropriate, the final part of the program should include actual work experience outside of the Center at an agency, institution or community organization. Trainees might work at agencies such as recreation centers, public health centers, the Youth Guidance Center, in schools, libraries,

hospitals or any institution where an on the job experience would advance their abilities and enrich their training. Such job experience would last approximately a month, at the end of which the trainee would report back to the Center to share his experiences with other trainees and staff.

Trainees would be referred to employment agencies or directly to appropriate institutions. There should be a follow-up of each trainee until a job has been found. The trainee would be welcome back to the Center after employment elsewhere so that he could involve himself in the continuing recreational and neighborhood improvement aspects of the program. If a trainee had not found a position and if he were in need of further training, the Center should re-evaluate his situation and, in cooperation with the State Employment Service, help to set up a plan of further training or other appropriate educational plans for and with him. In those situations where a potential in terms of continuing higher education had been identified in the course of training, the trainee would receive counseling, assistance and encouragement in seeking further formal training.

IV

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

One aspect of planning during the past year was a critical review of the ongoing programs in preschool education, particularly as these relate to the "disadvantaged" or "deprived". The purpose of this review was to help chart the details of our own future program in early childhood education by evaluating not only the technologies and methodologies in use elsewhere but also the conceptualizations that relate to these. In reporting the results of our review, it seems more fruitful and appropriate to focus on the conceptual and

methodological problems within the field rather than on the specifics of the various programs. The latter have been adequately presented in a variety of recently published materials (see, for example: Beck and Saxe, 1966; Bloom, Davis and Hess, 1965; Crow, Murray and Smythe, 1966; Gordon, 1965; Gray and Klaus, 1965; Hechinger, 1966; Hunnicutt, 1964; Passow, 1963; Riessman, 1962).

The rapidly proliferating literature in the field of preschool education of the culturally deprived or disadvantaged is largely of two kinds: there are first of all, and most abundantly, the reports of the many service-oriented programs, pragmatic and atheoretical, often initiated in response to an educational emergency; to a much lesser extent, are there substantial conceptual efforts which attempt to encompass or straddle the broad areas of "culture and cultural disadvantage", "growth and development" and "education and learning". Very rare indeed are efforts, or at least published accounts of efforts, in which a well-developed rationale--social and/or developmental--guides the educational manipulations that are undertaken. One example of such rare efforts are the programs at the Institute of Developmental Studies (see, for example: Deutsch, 1963, 1965). In general, however, the many pragmatic programs and the few conceptual efforts are going on independently. This is a most fundamental criticism and one that overrides all others. The field might well be less deficient if theoreticians and practitioners had remained in closer touch. No doubt, one reason for the schism between theory and practice is the atmosphere of urgency, almost crisis, in which so many educational manipulations for the disadvantaged or deprived are initiated. Under these conditions, there is an over-emphasis on the development of efficient techniques and devices, and little time for theory. Thus the field emerges strongest at the level of technology--

a dubious accomplishment in view of the theoretical and substantive lags.

Perhaps a by-product of the urgency with which programs are initiated, is the all too ready and eager acceptance of certain notions about cultural deprivation or disadvantage. These notions have become codified with unseemly haste. Most studies or programs are prefaced with an increasingly stereotypic "thumbnail sketch" of cultures of poverty and deprivation--a sketch that is all too rarely grounded in solid data. The effects of poverty and deprivation on the youthful participants in such cultures are then detailed, deficiencies are identified and diagnosed, and remedial efforts initiated.

The stereotypy of assumptions is particularly surprising in view of the fact that few of the empirical studies, service programs or descriptive commentaries are clear-cut in their designations of who are the disadvantaged or deprived and what are the criteria for qualifying for membership in the culture of disadvantage or deprivation. There are differences in the nomenclature and differences in attributes, even when the name is the same. Michael Harrington estimates the "poor" at between forty and fifty million. (1962). There are, additionally, 37 million "deprived" who are above poverty but short of minimum requirements for a modestly comfortable level of living (Keyserling, 1964).Altogether then, there are upwards of eighty million Americans who live in poverty or deprivation. These are economic designations in terms of income levels rather than life styles, and presumably not everyone below a certain income is "culturally deprived". Yet most prefatory thumbnail sketches are in terms of life styles. The situation is further confounded by the fact that poverty is most prevalent and extreme among populations of minority status. In a few studies where the effects and conditions of socioeconomic status and ethnicity

have been scrutinized separately, they have been found to variably impinge on the child. The confusion is somewhat analagous to that which prevailed in reference to the early studies of social class and child rearing and child behavior which produced voluminous but contradictory findings. The failure to conceptualize what about social class was relevant and made the difference for the child has been suggested as one reason for the bewildering and inconsistent findings in that area (Clausen and Williams, 1963). A few attempts are now being made to establish conceptual and methodological order in this respect, at least. Deutsch and his collaborators are developing a "deprivation index" intended to differentiate within larger social groupings in order to define background stimulation-behavioral development relationships (Deutsch, M. and Deutsch, C., 1966). Exemplary of more conceptual efforts is a recent paper of Strodtbeck (1965) in which he seeks to establish linkages between family structure and organization and language skills.

In sum then, another major default in the field is the failure to a)define who are the poor/deprived in any given study or program and b) what it is about poverty/deprivation that is relevant to the child and his growth and development. There is an astonishing discrepancy in the very allocation of personnel, time and energies in most programs in preschool education of the culturally deprived or disadvantaged. One wonders at the care and precision with which the child and his deficiencies are delineated and the grossness, almost shoddiness, with which the child's macrocosm is dealt with. Such exploration into background or macroscopic factors that does go on, is all too often in the nature of "counts": absent fathers, AFDC mothers, hours spent in front of TV, amount of time with or without adults. These recorded counts are then assumed

to bear causal relationship to the child's deficiencies, most often specified as cognitive, perceptual and linguistic. Having assumed causality, massive manipulations are nontheless directed toward the "outcome" while "the cause"--be it right or wrong--is ignored.

One of the few exceptional conceptual efforts bearing on the relationship of environment to learning has already been mentioned: the statement by Strodtbeck (1965) in which the characteristics of the family system and the degree of role differentiation within the family are related to language skills. Other, similar attempts are the studies of Hess and his collaborators (1965) and those of the British linguist Bernstein (1958, 1959, 1961, 1962). Each of these somewhat overlapping conceptualizations links the problem of learning to the sociostructural characteristics of the child's environment. More specifically, each is an attempt to relate experiences and patterns of experience to the cognitive aspects of learning. What distinguishes these efforts from the prevalent work in this area is that the linkages that are being established are refined and precise. Fine strands of the "macrocosm" are being isolated and related to cognitive styles, linguistic forms, etc. Where these efforts do go astray is again in their premature assumptions about the macrocosm, here about its finer strands rather than its grosser dimensions. So, for example, Strodtbeck speaks of Aid to Dependent Children families as having a simple, rudimentary social system due largely to the absence of a continuously visible, effective father. The child has no family-based introduction to the complexity of role relations. Yet one wonders whether the matrifocal family system cannot also foster skills and adaptations--different, perhaps from those of a stable, nuclear middle-class model but equally complex and not necessarily "rudimentary".

Hess and Shipman (1965) see the meaning of deprivation as a "deprivation of meaning", a cognitive environment in which behavior is controlled by status rules and not mediated by verbal cues. Could it be that the "cognitive meaning" of the lower class system is not necessarily always elicited in the white middle-class laboratory or not necessarily recognizable to the investigation with his own culturally limited repertory of cues? The different linguistic codes identified by Bernstein on the basis of work with middle and working class families in England has been transposed to American sub-groups despite possible cultural differences in social structure and child rearing systems. To a lesser extent than in the more pedestrian efforts, in these relatively exemplary studies behavioral characteristics are delineated at the most overt, easily identified level and sociostructural "root" factors are inferred in a somewhat culturally biased way.

Another fundamental flaw in the conceptualizations in the area of remedial education of the culturally deprived is that these are all too often riveted to two links in a chain: the family system (delineated with varying finesse and accuracy) and one or more aspects of the intellective development or cognitive style of the child. One must assume that a social system--even a relatively elemental one such as the family--takes a particular form and provides a particular context--because in its form and context it is functional both on its own terms and vis-a-vis the larger social structure. Exemplary of the kind of work needed in the area of cultural deprivation is Kohn's conceptual statement (1963) based on his studies of child rearing (1959a, 1959b, 1960). In its present "crisis" atmosphere, the field is woefully lacking the kind of contemplative statements which, drawing on historical and cross-cultural material,

could give it direction and depth. It has become prematurely "frozen" at perseveratively establishing limited, and perhaps erroneous, causal relationships and at initiating remedial programs stemming from this limited perspective.

Another finding that emerged on the basis of our review of the field of education of the culturally deprived is that the bulk of the manipulations are one-sided. A fundamental assumption is that through massive remedial efforts the culturally deprived or disadvantaged child can be helped to "shape up" so that by the age of five, when he enters the public school system, he can become a more adequately equipped beneficiary of the curriculum that is then available to him. Despite the impressive record of the many remedial programs, one should, perhaps, question this one-sideness. We would like to point to the issues raised in the passionate and angry statement of Henry (1963). On the basis of classroom observations he describes what he terms "noise", those sounds that do not communicate subject matter but cultural learnings and that make up so much of the "curriculum". The school, as an institution for drilling children in cultural orientations, "sharpens to a cutting edge the drives the culture needs" (Henry, 1963, p. 292). Underlying, then, most remedial efforts is the premise that the young victims of deprivation and poverty must be taught to adapt to a school system that is a major socializer in the dominant values--values that are not only alien but also dysfunctional for them. Gordon (1965) in his review of programs in compensatory education calls attention to the fact that the approaches adopted are those that require least change in the school itself. In the midst of the vast national salvage operation geared toward tapping the unrealized intellectual potential of millions of children, the school environment has remained largely unmodified.

Not unrelated to the one-sideness of educational manipulations is the lack of clearcut delineations of "criterion" measures. Is academic success in the existing school system the sole aim of the many programs in compensatory education? If not, what are the aims or criteria? These are rarely stated. One assumption, if not explicit, then certainly implied is that the culturally "advantaged", that is the middle-class white child has had ample and adequate preparation for the demands that school will make upon him. Yet while the middle-class family milieu may be highly consonant with the school situation, is it indeed optimally growth fostering? In an informal paper Deutsch (1965) mentions the more varied verbal expression of lower class children as compared to middle-class children. He relates this to the constriction of fantasy life of middle-class children in a society that is invested in keeping the child dependent and restricted. David Riesman (1958), speaking specifically of suburbia--increasingly the environment of the middle-class child-finds in the suburbs a loss of differentiation as "like-mindness reverberates upon itself as the potentially various selves within each of us do not get evoked or recognized".

What is needed is a reflective evaluation of the massive national effort--public and private--on behalf of the children of "poverty" and "deprivation". Such an evaluation is most urgent at the conceptual or perhaps ideological level. It must encompass not only the technologies and strategies developed in response to the educational "crisis" but also the underlying values and assumptions that guide the educational "war" against poverty and deprivation.

V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Implied in the suggested model for a Center for Research, Service and Training relating to disadvantaged preschool children, is the belief that no single profession, institution or agency may lay exclusive claim to the field of child development. How poverty and prejudice stunt the child's early development is not now precisely known. However, it seems that such knowledge can best be achieved through interdisciplinary collaborative efforts. The model described proposes to bring together members of different institutions, professions and agencies in a center located among the people who well know the meaning of being poor.

1. Efforts to enhance the development of the young child will be most effectively achieved through the combined resources and knowledge of many disciplines.

2. Optimal contributions to the knowledge of the development of the young child will be obtained through the collaborative efforts of researchers and practitioners.

3. A Center for Research, Service and Training should not only be interdisciplinary and collaborative but interinstitutional. The host institution should be one with a history and experience of service to an urban community.

4. Study of the disadvantaged preschool child should occur within a living laboratory, namely the child's environment.

5. Interdisciplinary research efforts should be directed toward the entire spectrum of researchable issues, ranging from the ecological and environmental to the specifics of physical growth and development.

Methodological frameworks should encompass the variety of forces which impinge upon the development of the young child.

6. The research component of the Center should accomodate visiting investigators from institutions within and outside the region.

7. The development of the Center should begin with a careful study of the neighborhood and its needs. The participation of the residents in the planning and operation of the Center should be developed during the initial year of the program. The process whereby involvement is elicited will be one focus of the initial research effort.

8. A continuing census of the neighborhood should be developed and maintained through the enlistment of research aides, themselves residents of the community.

9. The services to the residents of the neighborhood should be comprehensive and from the research point of view, are the independent variable. The effect upon the development of the young child is the dependent variable. A corollary is that appropriate methodological structures be devised so that data drawn from different sources can be made mathematically coordinate and the impingement of the environment upon the life of the child can be systematically studied.

10. In the training of professionals and non-professionals, supplemental service should be the guiding principle. Existing training programs should not be duplicated but supplemented to provide special experience with a population of disadvantaged

preschool children.

11. The concept of a Regional Center for Research, Service and Training is administratively, professionally, socially and educationally feasible.

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